

P

Chan 10 Feb 68

Problem with US: do best according to their understanding,  
but aren't sensitive to what we want, and: e.g.  
in leadership (Khan; Ky( )).

You'd look for illusion; have none. Look for hero; none  
(though VC have real heroes).

(Dong Van Dung) (why people don't sacrifice.)

[Can this people

- Chan so angry that civs didn't get together at end of  
election — as he expected — he wanted mil to win —  
they demand leadership, civs didn't — though he voted for  
Luu (respected figure, more popular than Hung, though  
ineffective; more national appeal; good ones under him (Dun).

(Class program really needs PC's like him; but thinks  
that not infeasible.

PC's			
Very good	rather	Poor	Very Bad
15	10-15	10	5

DC's: better.

"The better the land, the better the people."

How to free, & promote, good PC/DC's?

[Recall: Prov Councils, NA/PM/Pro/Comm...

US could have protected Luu, Don from Dim, yet they did  
not interfere, even to defend system: which could have led  
to independent NA...



Why not political initiative now in SVN, like 1920's, 30's, 40's?

In NVN: intellectual/patriots:

- a) Indoctrinated; no access to other point of view
- b) They are VNese; as nation; proud...
- c) less difference between leaders + followers

Thao's  
appreciation  
of this  
country, with  
the change.

1948

In '40's, crisis of nationalists — aim of nationalism?

Communism (indoctrinated, ideology) vs. working with French.

In SVN, no org, no ideology.

Intellectuals who cooperated with Diem discredited after fall —  
esp. by those who (felt guilty because they) never cooperated.

Now, the legislation reflects the sentiments of the people;  
but not the support of the people, their participation.

Power is held by the Americans; they should uphold  
the Constitution.

With no US there... the Army fights among itself;  
country falls to VC. In SVN power is:

US strongest

VC second

ARVN third

Without US: VC. Without VC, ARVN; but practically  
"you always have VC."

But US can't defeat <sup>VC</sup> itself; nor can US + ARVN.  
People split between ARVN and VC: not with VC, but not by  
conviction, by VC techniques. "If people really wanted  
Cons, I would leave the country."



# Chair - Pacification

inherent, responsibility

1. People's Self-Protection requires: running own affairs.

2. Local Election: this requires (administered, no interest)

3. Local people's organizations (developing community spirit, sense of  
and for permanent org, elections for these, the intent is  
running village). This requires

4. <sup>Progress to</sup> Improve living standards (create opportunity; economic  
dignity/justice (this esp. in towns, cities); interest in development,  
progress, improvement; private organization to support this:  
use this to stimulate org (instead of sending out  
technicians for aid; <sup>2</sup> teach how to use fertilizer, but no  
thought of stimulating people to org. politically for self-  
interest; no follow-up <sup>by technicians</sup> on action based on help, advice...

To link up 3+4, need help of influential people in  
[not "so-called notables"] local  
village; to know these (+ needs, etc.)...

5. Investigation (Census Bureau). <sup>(and Police)</sup> This requires

6. Confidence of the People: a) Security (inc., but not suff.)

b) Behaving & operating in manner that  
builds confidence.

(C. Remove VC in village: along with 5.)

We have done each of these — but separately, not connected,  
(not in same area), not in proper sequence

e.g. Security → election

or Security → PSDF 3 without 4; 4 without 3;

no 5; or ~~or~~ 5 without anything.

[Aim — (1) — is not realized; nor, instrumental relationship of 3+2 to (1).]

e.g. Common situation: We go in with list of things to do for people,  
wells, schools, etc. Get people org want one thing: dismiss village chief.

Without that, then initiatives may expose them to big disadvantage as  
VC. & A. 1. Wait 3 months: dismiss chief: then (4).

(Pakistan)

land reform;  
self-help;  
schools.



Clare

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French pac program: Tonkin Delta, Cochinchina, "Atlantic"  
(Phu Yen, Binh Dinh). Expanded <sup>French</sup> police; cadres set up as  
village committee.

As now, program failed because of the lack of nationalist  
motivation among those running the program — Army, admin.

Big difference — Street Hanoi: <sup>1961</sup> looked much more VNese;  
continued much more national spirit with a technical org.

But tried to do too much too rapidly. PCs were too much  
hypnotized by guidance from Central Hanoi — Nhu. PCs tried to  
go fast. "I didn't; each month there was a ranking; Kim Hoi  
was always 36th, 37th." "Still, without <sup>the</sup> Buddhist crisis, I believe  
strongly that the program could have developed."

After coup, elements that had taken part in earlier orgs —  
Women's Org, Republic Youth — were discredited; people rejoined  
but without enthusiasm. Many youth drafted into Army + VC.

- 1) People involved in the program at all levels had a chance  
to discuss program mutually — unlike now (?) : C. thinks mistakes  
could have been corrected.
- 2) Dignity, sense of VN nationalism, beginning to develop at lower  
levels of program.
- 3) VC weaker then.

Nhu urged C. to go rapidly — "if you don't expand, VC will  
come from outside and destroy your province." Also, Nhu wanted  
to impress US.



Realised as PC that main problem in providing security  
was lack of participation by villagers in giving info on  
clandestine activity of



Fundamental factor in program was conviction of cadres in program

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Guineans went directly from cadre to Province.

C personally selected cadre, talked personally, trained

radio

Complaint Days (would

In first year, cadre / police / chiefs hated each other. But I made  
it my personal program; ask C. compensated for CG program  
by receiving police chiefs and village chiefs, dealing with their  
grievances, worries





C would ask US <sup>where</sup> commanders, "What is your final objective w.r.t. pacification?"

Answer at all levels: "To help the people; to win their hearts and minds, make them like us; then they will help."

"So nice. Very romantic. To me, this means nothing as an objective; it means that the program has no objective; so that cadre, commanders, can take their own initiative, make their own mistakes."

Objective must be: People's Self-Protection.

People must realize that in this kind of war, they cannot be neutral, ~~they~~

it should never be considered pacified

Ex: ARVN in vicinity; people say, "We have ID; we are safe from GVN. And we will do nothing to make the VC angry; we will be safe from the VC." The Pac program must destroy this attitude — that people can be safe both from VC and GVN; must convince people... "This is OK, for a certain time... after that..."

"No place in VN is pacified, in this sense; only secure, from presence of troops."

How to get this? People must feel they run their own affairs.

In Negots:

- Issue of ceasefire - before or after armistice agreement
- Prepare to confront VC claims & "evidence" of control in countryside - and claim that GVN is puppet, unrepresentative.



If I were leader of country, I could not want the people like the Cons.

Individual has the right to relax — not only to work for himself and his country. Cons ~~never~~ let man work <sup>enough for</sup> ~~not~~ himself, for his family, too much for his country.

Sung, Thin

Ky, Thin (Can) — VN officers, not ex-French officers  
Mind (Big & little), Don, kin — French Army off

Ky drafted into VN Army; however, these have never fought for independence: only against VC. Trained by French.

— Can left VM for Bao Dai (conservative family); hoped French would allow increasing independence; VM would rally (Ho would rally.) Angry at Comm leaders; attracted C. of youth — for ideology, Party — tricked him into thinking there was only one solution.

But by 1951-52, disillusionment with Bao Dai, rallying, French motives and performance (just like disillusionment with US performance, 1965-67, political understanding earlier)!



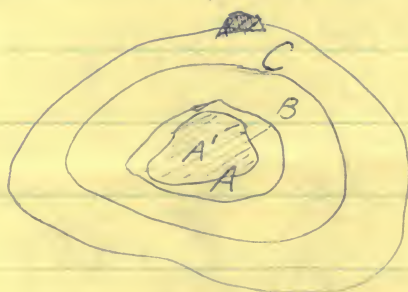
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Under police  
chief: under PC

C would disband PF/RF, make into Field Police Force;  
have only Police and ARVN: and PSDF (under Village Committee.)

"Ideally, PC would control everything in prov but ARVN — if  
he had enough troops + PSDF to control A+B area

[ Make A — "undergoing proc" — A' "pacified."



[ Is it necessary — to fight Coms — to have as much fervor,  
org, ideology

Com doctrine: "You have been living under same conditions as  
your grandparents; you are still poor, your children have no  
more opportunity to go to school, etc. We have a way to  
change this..."

Chan: GVN should make same appeal. Coms: Why  
hasn't GVN made this appeal? C: They don't understand  
regiment.

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